VI.

BEEF IN ANCIENT INDIA.

Modern Hindu repugnance to beef. Ancient feeling different. Wilson's notice. Mistaken notion about slaughtered animals having been revived. Notices in Uttararáma-charita, Mahávira-charita, Smritis, Manu, As'oka's edicts, Mahábhárata, Rámáyaṇa, Charaka, Sus'ruta, Kalpa and Gṛihya Sútras. Sacrifices noticed in the Black Yajur Veda. Pauchasáradiya S'ava. S'úlagava Gavámayana. Atirátra rite. Nirudha-pas'ubandha. Distribution of the slaughtered meat. Pas'ukalpa. Dressing of the meat. Madhuparka rite; the necessity of eating beef on that occasion. Date of prohibition.



HE title of this paper will, doubtless, prove highly offensive to most of my countrymen; but the interest attached to the enquiry in connexion with the early social history of the Aryan race on this side of the Himálaya, will, I trust, plead my excuse. The idea of beef—the flesh of the earthly representative of the divine Bhagavatí—as an article of food is so shocking to the Hindus, that thousands over thousands of the more orthodox among them never repeat the counterpart of the word in their vernaculars, and many and dire have been the sanguinary conflicts which the shedding of the blood of cows has caused in this country. And yet it would seem that there was a time when not only no compunctious visitings of conscience had a place in the mind of the people in slaughtering cattle—when not only the meat of that animal was actually esteemed a valuable aliment—when not only was it a mark of generous hospitality, as among the ancient Jews, to slaughter the "fatted calf" in honor of respected guests,—but when a supply of beef was deemed an absolute necessity by pious Hindus in their journey from this to another world, and

a cow was invariably killed to be burnt with the dead.* To Englishmen, who are familiar with the present temper of the people on the subject, and to a great many of the natives themselves, this remark may appear quite startling; but the authorities on which it is founded are so authentic and incontrovertible that they cannot, for a moment, be gainsaid.)

To the more learned among my countrymen the fact is not unknown that the Vedas, at one time, enjoined a ceremony called *Gomedha*, or the sacrifice of cattle; but they imagine it was typical, and did not involve the actual slaughter of the animal, and accordingly envelope it in mystery, so as to render it completely unintelligible to the uninitiated, or intelligible in a manner that takes them entirely away from the truth. When the subject attracted the attention of the late Professor Wilson, the attempt at mystification was so far successful that he was made to waver,† though the light of truth could not be altogether withheld from a scholar and critic like him. In a note in his translation of the *Meghadúta*, Professor Wilson said, "the sacrifice of the horse or of the cow, the *gomedha* or *as'vamedha*, appears to have been common in the earliest periods of the Hindu ritual. It has been conceived that the sacrifice was not real, but typical; and that the form of sacrificing only was performed upon the victim, after which it was set at liberty. The text of this passage, however, is unfavorable to such a notion, as the metamorphosis of the blood of the kine into a river certainly implies that blood was diffused. The expression of the original, literally rendered, is 'sprung from the blood of the daughters of Surabhi' that is, kine, Surabhi being

* *Vide* the paper on the 'Funeral Ceremonies of the Ancient Hindus,' in the next volume.

† This was, however, done at the early part of his Sanskrit studies, when he had not come to the fountain-head, and was obliged to depend on his pandits. Subsequently he had no doubt whatever on the subject. Vide his note in the *Uttara-ráma-charita*, *Hindu Theatre*, I. 34.

a celebrated cow produced at the churning of the ocean, and famed for granting to her votaries whatever they desired. 'Daughter of Surabhi' is an expression of common occurrence, to denote the cow."*

This argument of the learned Professor, however, had suggested itself to the people of this country long before his time, and it was met by some by the assertion that the word blood had been used only to complete the metaphor of the sacrifice. Others, more amenable to the plain meaning of the old texts, but at the same time more daring, assume that the animals so sacrificed were immediately after invariably revived by the supernatural powers of the sacrificers. Such a line of argument, however satisfactory to the pious proletariat, takes the question so entirely out of the domain of reason, that it may fairly be left to itself; but even the orthodox Hindu might fairly ask, how was it then that the venerable old poet and hermit Válmíki, when preparing to receive his brother sage Vas'ishṭha, the author of one of the original law books (Smṛitis) which regulates the religious life of the people, and a prominent character even in the Vedas, slaughtered a lot of calves expressly for the entertainment of his guests? The revivification in that case must have followed the consumption of the meat of the slaughtered animals by them. The passage in which Válmikí's preparation for the reception of Vas'ishṭha, described in the *Uttara-ráma-charita*, is so remarkable, that I need not offer any apology to quote it entire. The scene is laid in front of the hermitage of Válmíki, where two disciples of the sage discourse on the bustle within.

"*Bháṇḍáyana.* Behold, Saudhátaki, our humble dwelling!

Válmíki's holy hermitage assumes
The face of preparation; he expects

* Essays II., p. 353.

Unwonted guests to-day; the wild deer feed
Upon unusual fragments, and the air
Is filled with savoury odours.

Saudhátaki. There must be
Some wondrous cause, to make our grey beards lay
Their lectures by to-day.

Bhán. There is a cause,
And that of no mean import.

Sau. Tell me, I pray you,
What venerable ox may we expect
To visit us?

Bhán. For shame! refrain from jests:
The great Vas'ishtha hither brings the queens
Of Das'aratha, with Arundhatí,
From Rishyas'ringa to our master's dwelling.

Sau. Vas'ishtha is it?

Bhán. The same.

Sau. I crave his pardon. I had thought, at least,
It was a wolf or tiger we should look for.

Bhán. How so?

Sau. Why else was there provided
The fatted calf for his regale?

Bhan. Why, know you not,
The Vedas, which enshrine our holy law,
Direct the householder shall offer those
Who in the law are skilled, the honied meal
And with it flesh of ox, or calf, or goat,
And the like treatment shall the householder
Receive from Bráhmans learned in the Vedas.*"

Vasishtha, in his turn, likewise, slaughtered the "fatted calf" when entertaining Vis'vámitra, Janaka, S'atánanda, Jáma-

* Hindu Theatre I, 339. This rendering is a little too free, but the main facts remain unaltered. For a literal translation of the passage, see Mr. Tawney's version of the work, Act IV.

dagnya and other sages and friends, and in the *Mahávíra-charita*, when pacifying Jámadagnya, tempted him by saying: "The heifer is ready for sacrifice, and the food is cooked in ghee. Thou art a learned man, come to the house of the learned, favour us (by joining in the entertainment)."*

These are, doubtless, examples quoted from avowed fictions, but it is not to be supposed for a moment that their authors would have alluded to such a subject, and offended the feelings of their readers, had they not ample authority to be satisfied that their readers would go with them.

Colebrooke noticed the subject in his essay on "the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus," in which he says, "it seems to have been anciently the custom to slay a cow on this occasion, (the reception of a guest) and a guest was therefore called a *goghna* or 'cow-killer.'† When noticing the mantra for the consecration of the cow at the marriage ceremony, he observes: "The commentator whose gloss has been followed in this version of the text, introduces it by the remark, that a guest, entitled to honorable reception, is a spiritual preceptor, a priest, an ascetic, a prince, a bridegroom, a friend, or, in short, any one to welcome whose arrival a cow must be tied for the purpose of slaying her; whence a guest is denominated *goghna*, or cow-killer."‡

Manu authorises the consumption of animal food at all seasons with the slight restraint of first offering a bit of it to the gods, or manes, or guests. He says: "having bought flesh meat, or obtained it by aid of another, he who eats it after worshiping the gods or manes commits no sin." V. 32. But he does not expressly name beef as an article of food. In his list of animals fit for human food he, however, observes;

* संज्ञाप्यते वत्सतरी सर्पिष्मन्नञ्च पच्यते ।
श्रोत्रियः श्रोत्रियगृहानागतोऽसि जुषस्व नः ॥ अ॰ २ ।

† Asiatic Researches VII, 288. ‡ Ibid. VII, 289.

"the hedge-hog and porcupine, the lizard *godhá (guana)*, the *gandaka* (rhinoceros), the tortoise, and the *rabbit* or hare, wise legislators declare lawful food among five-toed animals, and all quadrupeds, camels excepted, which have but one row of teeth."* And this would include cows which were well known to him as animals having one row of teeth. Had he wished to exclude them, he would have for certain thought of them, and linked them with camels. It is, however, not necessary by such a line of argument, to infer what he intended, as he is quite explicit in his directions about the use of beef on the occasion of a Brahmachárí's return home. He says: "Being justly applauded for this strict performance of his duty, and having received from his *natural or spiritual* father, the sacred gift of the Vedas, let him sit on an elegant bed, decked with a garland of flowers, and let his father honour him, before his nuptials, with the present of a cow, according to the *Madhuparka* rite."† In a subsequent passage‡ he recommends the *Madhuparka* or the "honied meal" with beef for the reception of kings and other great dignitaries.

As'oka, who in his first edict, says "formerly in the great refectory and temple of the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi, daily were many hundred thousand animals sacrificed for the sake of meat food,"§ does not specify the kind of animals which were slaughtered, but, bearing in mind that when the animals were sacrificed he was a Hindu, and followed the ordinances of the S'ástra, it is to be presumed that he did not confine himself to the meat of kids and sheep.

The Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana allude to the *go-medha* or slaughter of cattle for sacrifice; but they do not afford any details, nor is it clearly mentioned that bovine meat was used as food.

* Manu, V, 18. † Ibid III, 3. ‡ Ibid. III, 119-120.
§ Journal, Asiatic Soc., VII, p. 249.

The ancient medical works are, however, more precise. The *Charaka Sañhitá*, which dates from the 5th or 6th century, B.C. has, in its chapter on food, a verse which says "the flesh of cows, buffaloes and hogs, should not be eaten daily*"; which clearly indicates that it was then an article which was reckoned as food, but too rich for everyday use, like fish, curds, and barley cakes, which are also prohibited for everyday use. Elsewhere the author of that work recommends beef for pregnant women as it is calculated to strengthen the fœtus. *Sus'ruta*, in his section on food, points out the particular diseases in course of which beef should be avoided†. In other medical works of ancient times the same instructions appear, and nowhere is it absolutely forbidden. In some mediæval works beef soup is especially recommeded for people recovering from fainting fits.‡

The Sútras, both Kalpa and Grihya, and the Vedas themselves, display even less reserve or reticence. They distinctly affirm that bovine meat was used as food, and in detail point out the different occasions when cattle should be slaughtered and eaten. Gobhila recommends beef for s'ráddhas.§

In the Bráhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda, that grand store-house of Vedic rituals, which afford the fullest insight

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* कूर्च्चिकांश्च किलाटांश्च शौकरं गव्यमाहिषे ।
मत्स्यान् दधि च माषांश्च यवकांश्च न शीलयेत् ॥
चरके अन्नपानविध्यध्यायः ।

† गव्यं केवलवातेषु पीनसे विषमज्वरे ।
शुष्ककासश्रमात्यग्निमांसक्षयहितञ्च तत् ॥

‡ गवां मांसे बलिनं सर्व्वरोगमहन्तथा ।
तक्रसिद्धा यवागुः स्यात् घृता व्यापद्विनाशिनी ।
तैलव्यापदि शस्तत्र कपित्था पाकसाधिता ।
गव्यमांसरसे साम्ला विषमज्वरनाशिनी ।

§ तस्या ऊर्द्धं चाष्टम्यां गौः ।

into the religious life of ancient India, mention is made of scores of different ceremonies, which required the meat of cattle for their performance, and considerable stress is laid on the kind and character of the cattle which should be slaughtered for the supply of meat for the gratification of particular divinities. Thus, among the *Kámya Ishṭis*, or minor sacrifices with special prayers (B. III, c. VIII), we have to sacrifice a dwarf ox to Vishṇu ; a drooping-horned bull with a blaze on the forehead to Indra as the author of sacrifices or as the destroyer of Vitra ; a thick-legged cow *(Prishṇi-saktha)* to the same as the regent of wind ; a white-blazed drooping-horned bull to the same, as the destroyer of enemies, or as the wielder of the thunderbolt ; a barren cow to Vishṇu and Varuṇa ; a cow that has lately miscarried to Aushadhayah ; a bull that has been already sanctified at a marriage or other ceremony to Indra and Agni ; a polled ox to Brahmaṇaspati ; a black cow to Pushan ; a cow that has brought forth only once to Váyu ; a brown ox to Indra, the invigorator of our faculties ; a speckled or piebald ox to Savitá ; a cow having two colors to Mitra and Varuṇa ; a red cow to Rudra ; a white barren cow to Súrya ; a white ox to Mitra ; a cow that has miscarried from taking the bull unseasonably to Váyu ; a cow fit to conceive to Bhaga, &c., &c. In a rule in connexion with the As'vamedha, the same authority lays down that sacrificial animals should differ in caste, colour, age, &c., according to the gods for whom they are designed.*

In the larger ceremonies, such as the Rájasúya, the Vájapeya, and the As'vamedha, the slaughter of cattle was an invariable accompaniment. Of the first two, the *Gosava* formed an integral part, and it ensured to the performer independent dominion in this world, and perfect freedom in the

Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa, III, p. 658.

next to saunter about as he liked, even as the cow roams untrammelled in the forest.*

In its account of the As'vamedha, the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa recommends 180 domestic animals to be sacrificed, including horses, bulls, cows, goats, deer, Nílagáos,† &c. A number of wild animals were, likewise, on such occasions, brought to the sacrificial posts, but they were invariably let loose after consecration. The authority, however, does not distinctly say how many heads of cattle were required for the purpose ; the number perhaps varied according to the exigencies of the guests among whom crowned heads with their unwieldy retainers formed so prominent a part, and whose requirements were regulated by a royal standard. But even the strictly ceremonial offering was not, evidently, completed with a solitary cow or two. Out of the "ten times eighteen" heads required, a great many must have been bulls, cows and heifers of diverse colours and ages.

The Bráhmaṇa notices another ceremony in which a large number of cattle were immolated for the gratification of the Maruts and the enjoyment of their worshipers. This was called the *Pañchas'áradíya sava*, or the "quinquennium of autumnal sacrifices." It evidently held the same position in ancient India which Durgápújá does in the liturgy of the modern Hindus. It used to be celebrated, as its name implies, for five years successively, the period of the ceremony being limited to five days on each occasion, begining with the new moon which would be in conjunction with the Vis'ákhá constellation. This happened in September or October. The most important elements of the ceremony were seven-

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* यथा गौः अरण्ये स्वच्छन्दचारी, एवमयं मध्यलोकेऽपि स्वतन्त्रो भवति । Taittiríya A'raṇyaka.

† तस्मादष्टादशिनो रोहितो धूम्ररोहित इत्यादिभिरनुवाकैरुक्ताः प्रत्यनुवाकमष्टादशसङ्ख्या मिलित्वाऽशीत्यधिकशतसङ्ख्याकाः पशव आलभ्याः । Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa, II, 651.

teen five-year-old, humpless, dwarf bulls, and as many dwarf heifers under three years. The former were duly consecrated, and then liberated, and the latter, after proper invocations and ceremonial observances, immolated ; three on each day, the remaining two being added to the sacrifice on the last day, to celebrate the conclusion of the ceremony for the year. The Táṇḍya Bráhmaṇa of the Sáma Veda notices this ceremony, but it recommends cattle of a different colour for each successive year. According to it the 7th or 8th of the waxing moon in Ás'vina for the first year, and the 6th of Kártika for the following years, were the most appropriate for it.* The origin of the *Yajṇa*, according to a Vedic legend, is due to Prajápati. Once on a time he wished to be rich in wealth and dependents ; "he perceived the Paṇchas'áradíya ; he seized it, and performed a sacrifice with it, and thereby became great in wealth and dependents." "Whoever wishes to be great," adds the Veda, "let him worship through the Paṇchas'áradíya. Thereby, verily, he will be great."† Elsewhere it is said that this ceremony ensures thoroughly independent dominion, and that a sage of the name of Kándama attained it through this means.‡

In the Ás'valáyana Sútra mention is made of several sacrifices of which the slaughter of cattle formed a part. One of them in the Grihya Sútra is worthy of special notice. It is called *Súlagava* or "spitted cow," *i. e.*, Roast Beef. It was performed either in the autumn *(sarat)*, or the spring season ; when the moon was in the constellation Árdrá.§ The animal appropriate for it was a cow of other than fawn

* षष्ठ्यां॰ शरदि कार्त्तिके मासि यजेत। सप्तम्यामष्टम्यां वाश्वयुजीपक्षे तु वत्सतरीरेवालभेरन् उक्ष्णो विसृजेयुः। ६४२।

† Tait. Bráhmaṇa, II, 2.

‡ स्वाराज्यं वा एष यज्ञः। एतेन वा एकयावा कान्दमः स्वाराज्यमगच्छत्। स्वाराज्यं गच्छति। Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa, II, 781.

§ शरदि वसन्ते वार्द्रया। ४, ८, २।

color, spotted with white,* and the choicest of the fold.† Black spots were, however, not deemed objectionable,‡ and a uniform black or blue color with a dash of red in it, *i. e.*, of a purplish tinge was reckoned unexceptionable.§ As soon as such an animal was selected, it was bathed with water in which paddy and barley had been steeped, and let loose,|| as long as it did not attain all its permanent teeth, being all the while kept dedicated to Rudra, by a Vedic mantra which says, "May you thrive in the name of Rudra, the great god, &c."¶

The proper place for the sacrifice was an unfrequented spot, outside, and to the east, or the north, of a village, or town, whence the village was not visible, nor was it visible from the village. The time was after midnight, but some authorities preferred the dawn.**

All the necessary arrangements being complete, the priest, a Bráhmaṇ versed in the details of the sacrifice and experienced by former performance of it, †† should begin the ceremony by making certain offerings to the fire with appropriate mantras, and then plant a sacrificial post of the usual size, but of a green palás'a branch, uncarved and un-

* अकुष्ठिपृषत्। ४; ८, ४।

† श्रेष्ठं स्वस्य यूथस्य। ४, ८, २।

‡ कल्माषमित्येके। ४, ५।

§ कामं कृष्णमालोहवान्स्यात्। ४, ८, ६।

|| व्रीहियववतीभिरद्भिरभिषिच्य। ४, ६, ७।

¶ रुद्राय महादेवाय जुष्टो वर्द्धस्वेति। ४ ८, ८।

I am not sure whether the Rudra in this passage should be the noun, and Mahádeva "great god," adjective, or the latter the noun, and Rudra "fierce" the epithet. In the present day animal sacrifices are rarely offered to Mahádeva. To Sarasvatí, likewise, no meat offering is now made, though the Vedas enjoin it repeatedly.

** समाख्या ऊर्द्ध्वमर्द्धरात्रात्। उदित इत्येके। ४, ६, १२।

†† For obvious reasons this condition could not have been invariably carried out.

adorned, the practice in other ceremonies being to carve and decorate the post (Yúpa) very elaborately. Two pieces of string are now to be provided, one made of kús'a grass, and the other of a kind of creeping palás'a, *vratati.* One of these is tied round the post, and the other to the right horn of the victim, which is then attached to the post facing the west; each of these operations being performed while repeating a mantra. The animal being then immolated in the usual way, an offering is made to the fire with the liver held in a vessel made of palás'a wood or leaves. The mantra for the purpose is formed of the twelve names of S'iva thus—"To Hara, Mrídha, S'arva, S'iva, Bhava, Mahádeva, Ugra, Bhíma, Pas'upati, Rudra, S'añkara, and Ís'ána, may this be welcome."* It is, however, optional with the priest to repeat the whole of this mantra, or only a part of it including the last six names, or simply to say "to Rudra, may this be welcome!" Offerings of cooked rice and other articles being now made, four bundles of kús'a grass are spread on the four sides of the altar, and a little cooked rice and some beef are offered to Rudra as the regent of the four quarters. This is followed by four mantras addressed to Rudra from the four quarters. The husks *(tusha)* and broken grain *(kunda)* of the rice used in cooking the rice offering, together with the tail, hide, tendons and hoofs of the victim are then to be thrown into the fire, and the effused blood, which at the time of immolation was held in a vessel, should be thrown on bundles of kús'a grass. At a time when the people knew not how to utilize bovine hair and hoofs, their burning was a matter of course, but the destruction of so useful an article as hide was not in keeping with the views of the Benthamites of the day; accordingly Sámbatya, a sage, recommended that it should be made subservient to human use, by

* हराय मृडाय शर्वाय शिवाय भवाय महादेवायोग्राय भीमाय पशुपतये रुद्राय शङ्करायेशानाय स्वाहा। ४, ८, १७।

being manufactured into shoes and the like.* The priest is then to stand up, facing the north, and covering his face with a cloth, repeat a mantra offering the blood which had been spilled on the ground at the time of sacrifice to serpents to whom it belongs. The final offerings *(svishṭakrit)* are now made, and the spit being removed from the chest of the victim, the ceremony is concluded by an address to Rudra in praise of his greatness. The remains of the ceremonial offerings, says the Sútrakára, should not be admitted into the village, nor children be permitted to approach the sacrifice. But the sacrificers, should, says the text, "eat of the oblation in the usual way, after the benediction *(svastayana)*."† Some forbid this consumption of the beef, others make it optional.‡

The ceremony ensures to the performer long life, wealth, high position, great religious merit, and numerous herds and children ; and every householder is required to perform it at least once in course of his life ; it being reckond among those which must be performed. A modified form of this ceremony is recommended to be performed in a paddock, where cattle are piquetted at night, should a murrain break out in the fold.

It is to be regretted that the account of the ceremony given in the Gṛihya Sútra, though full in other respects, is entirely silent as to how the meat of the animal is to be cooked. The use of the spit or skewer and its presence in the chest of the victim whence it is to be withdrawn at the conclusion of the ceremony, leaves little doubt, however, as to the manner in which the meat was dressed.§

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* भोगं चर्म्मणा कुर्वीतेति शांवत्यः । शांवत्यस्त्वाचार्य्यः चर्म्मणा भोग-मुपानदादि कुर्वीतेति मन्यते । ४, ८, २४ ।

† नियोगात्तु प्राश्नीयात् स्वस्त्ययन इति । ४, ८, २५ ।

‡ अस्य पशोः हुतशेषं न प्राश्नीयात् । अन्यत्र इच्छातः प्राश्नीयात् वा । ४, ८, १२ ।

§ ततः स्विष्टकृदादि हृदयशूलोद्वासनसहितं होमशेषं समापयेत् । आश्वलायनगृ० सू० वृत्तिः । ४, ८, २९ ।

The next ceremony I have to notice is named *Gavámanayana* or the sacrifice of the cow, otherwise called *Ekásh-ṭaká.* It was held for four days from the eighth of the wane in the month of Mágha, or for four days, either immediately before, or immediately after, the full moon of Phálguṇa, or Chaitra. Its details are in many respects similar to that of the ordinary *Pas'ubandha*, of which some account will be given below. It seems to have formed a part of the *Mahá-plava, Dwádas'áha* and other ceremonies, and not to have constituted a distinct ceremony by itself.

Several other ceremonies also required a supply of beef for their consummation. In connexion with the Atirátra ceremony Kátyáyana recommends the sacrifice of a barren cow (a spotted one being preferred)* to the Maruts, and seventeen, black, polled, entire oxen to Prajápati, permission being granted to dispense with one or two of the characteristics if all the three cannot be secured.† I have not yet been able to obtain a Prayoga for the performance of any of these ceremonies, and am not, therefore, in a position to supply all the details which were observed in performing them. I have, however, got three short Prayogas for the performance of the*Nirúḍa-pas'ubandha*, from one of which (MS. No. 1552, Sanskrit College of Calcutta) I have compiled the following abstract of the ceremony.

This ceremony should be performed during the six months of the northern declension of the sun, when the

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* अतिरात्रपशूनुपाकृत्य वशां पृश्निं मरुद्भ्य उक्थेभ्यः ॥ का॰ श्रौ॰ सू॰ १४, २, ११।

पूर्वं चतुरोऽतिरात्रपशूनाग्नेयादीनुपाकृत्य वशां बन्ध्यां पृश्निं विचित्रवर्णामुपाकरोति।

† तदभावेऽपृश्निम् ॥ का॰ १४, २, १२ ॥

प्राजापत्यांश्च सप्तदश श्यामतूपरान् वत्सान् ॥ का॰ १४, २, १३ ॥

श्यामाश्च ते तूपराश्च श्यामतूपराः तान् तूपरान् शृङ्गहीनान् वत्सान्मुष्करान् साण्डान् प्रजनयितॄन्।

moon is waxing in one of the Deva-nakshatras, or on the day when the moon is in the constellation Revatí, or on the day of the new moon. On the day preceding the ceremony, the performer should celebrate the s'ráditha called *Nándímukha*, and at night observe the *Udakas'ánti* and the *pratisara-bandha*. The first consist in sprinking holy water with appropriate mantras on the householder, and the latter in tying a thread on the right wrist in a prescribed form to serve as an emblem of engagement, to be kept on until the completion of the ceremony for which it is tied. In Bengal this thread is now tied only on the occasion of a marriage, or the investiture of the sacrificial thread ; but in the North-West it is used for several other ceremonies.

On the day of the ceremony, the first duty is to attend to the five obligatory duties of bathing, offering of water to the manes, reading of the Vedas, offering of oblations to the household fire, giving of alms to beggars, and cooking of rice for the Vaisyadeváh.* The animal to be sacrificed is then to be thought of, while repeating the mantra beginning with the word *Príyatám*, &c. Proceeding then to the Gárhapatya fire, the institutor and his wife should sit beside it on kús'a grass, holding at the same time a bundle of that article in their hands, and then thrice inaudibly and thrice loudly repeat a mantra, and, having duly ordained the priests, solemnly resolve to perform the ceremony. The Adhvaryu should now come forward, produce in due form the sacrificial fire by briskly rubbing two pieces of wood against each other, sanctify it by proper mantras, light the Áhavínya fire altar, and thereon offer oblations of clarified butter. If the fire used be an ordinary one, and not produced by friction, a different form of sanctification is to be adopted to that recommended in the first instance. The oblations, however,

* पाठो होमश्चातिथीनां सपर्य्या तर्पणं बलिः ।
एते पञ्च महायज्ञाः ब्रह्मयज्ञादिनामकाः ॥

are the same, and they are five-fold, the last two being in favor of the sacrificial post and the axe with which it is to be cut.

Now proceeding by the eastern gate of the town, the institutor should proceed to the tree from which the post is to be cut out. There, standing before the tree with his face to the west, he should address a mantra to the tree, and then anoint its trunk with a little sacrificial butter. The post being subsequently cut, a piece of gold is to be put on the stump, a little water is to be sprinkled thereon, and four offerings of butter made to it.

The post should be five *aratnis* and four fingers long, each *aratni* being equal to about 16 inches, that is, of the length of the forearm from the inner condyle of the humerous to the tip of the little finger. From nine inches to a foot of the lower end of the post should remain unshorn for the purpose of being buried in the earth ; but above that the shaft should be pared and made either octagonal, or square. The top, to the extent of four fingers, should be cut into the form of a tenon, whereon is to be fixed a round wooden band or ferule, for regulating the proportion of which as also for the various operations of cutting, chiselling, scraping, appropriate mantras are provided. The shavings should be collected, partly for the cooking of frumenty, and partly for fixing the post in the earth.

The place where the post should be fixed has next to be determined. For this purpose, a peg is to be fixed in front of the Áhavaníya fire at the distance of two feet from its northern edge. Proceeding northwards twelve feet therefrom, a second peg is to be fixed, and then taking a piece of string 18 feet long and having a loop at each end, it is to be fixed to the fore peg, and then, drawing it tight at the thirteenth feet, a third peg is to be fixed, a hole being dug between it and the peg at the twelfth feet, and another at the four-

teenth feet. The string being now drawn towards the south, pegs are to be fixed as above. These opposite points are called the *s'roṇi*, or the hips of the altar. The string is next turned to the east and west successively, and pegs fixed at the distance of fourteen feet on each side from the centre. These constitute the two shoulders of the altar *(skandha)*. To the west of the twelfth foot pegs, eight inches of space should be kept for the post, and beyond it a peg should be fixed to mark the boundary of the spot. Beyond it, in a straight line at the distance of yoke-pin, another peg is to be fixed, and beyond it a square altar of the length and height of a yoke-pin should be made similar to the Áhavaníya altar. This is called the *Uttaravedi*. Upon this there should be another, a span square and four fingers or a span high, having a depression in the centre like a foot-mark. This is the northern navel, *Uttaranábhí.* Measuring two or three feet straight to the west of the altar pin, and then turning to the north two or three feet, a hole is to be dug of the size of a yoke-pin. This is called *Chátvála*. Measuring again four feet straight to the west of the altar, and then turning to the north one foot, a peg is to be fixed marking the place of the *Utkara* or refuge field.

The Yajamána now sheds his hair, rubs butter on his body, ornaments his eyes with collyrium, and then eats something, leaving the next operations of the ceremony to be performed by the priests.

The first duty of the Adhvaryu priest is now to cut two plaksha branches *(Ficus infectoria)*, and to arrange all the different articles required for the sacrifice, including among other things a peg of Gambhári wood *(Gmelina arborea)* of the length of the Yajamána's face, for driving it into the victim's chest. *(Kas'maryamayam hṛidaya-s'úlam yajamáná-mukha-sammitam.)* Now follows a series of offerings to the different sacred fires, and the repetition of a number of

mantras by the different priests, the Yajamána and his wife, which, however important in a ceremonical point of view, are neither likely to interest the public in the present day, nor to contribute to throw any light on the subject of this paper. I shall pass on, therefore, to the details connected with the treatment of the sacrificial animal.

On the conclusion of the different offerings above referred to, the victim should be brought forward, rubbed over with a paste of turmeric, emblic myrobolan and oil, well washed, and then led between the *Chátvála* and the *Utkara*, to a spot between the Áhavaníya fire and the sacrificial post and there made to stand before the latter, facing the west. The animal should be of the colour appropriate for Indra and Agni, for the whole ceremony is addressed to them. But should one of that colour be not available, any sound ox may be employed, provided it be not defective by reason of having only one born, or bored ears, or broken teeth, or docked tail, or being dwarf, deaf, mangy, or undivided-hoofed.

After the bathing, the Adhvaryu should offer certain expiatory oblations with the *nityájya*, *sthályájya*, and *vasáhoma-havaní*, in course of which he should invoke Agni, Indra, Váyu and Prajápati. Then taking a bit of kus'a grass he should place the same with the aid of the Yajamána, on the head of the victim between the horns, while repeating the first verse of the Yajur Veda, *Ís'etvá*, &c. This is called *Upáka raṇa* or emblematic sacrifice. It is to be followed by the repetition of certain mantras declaratory of the resolution to sacrifice the animal.

Other mantras now follow, accompanied with offerings to the different fires, and repeated manipulations of the sacrificial vessels. These done, the animal is tied by the right horn, the rope passing two or three times round the eye of that side, so as to leave the left horn free. A little water

is then sprinkled on the victim, which is allowed to have a good drink of water from a vessel brought near it for the purpose. An offering of butter to the fire with the *s'ruk* spoon is next made, and with the remainder of the sanctified butter in the spoon, spots are marked on the forehead, the hump, and the two hind quarters. Another series of mantras and offerings having been gone through by the Adhvaryu, an axe is placed in the hands of the immolator, a spike stuck into the string with which the victim is tied, and the victim is anointed with some butter. These operations accomplished, the Agnidhra takes up a flaming brand from the *Áhavaníya* altar, and proceeding between the *Chátvála* and the *Utkara* to the front of the *Sámitra* fire, thrice circumambulates the victim by the right side with the brand in his hand, and then placing the brand near the *Áhavaníya* altar, repeats the circumambulation, while the Adhvaryu offers an oblation after every turn, and then continues his offerings to Prajápati, Agni, Váyu, and Vis'vedeváh. The Pratiprasthátá now comes forward, and taking some burning charcoal from the *Gárhapatya* altar, removes it to the *Sámitra* altar. The victim is then led northward between the sacrificial post and the northern altar by the Agnidhra with a flaming brand in his hand, and the Adhvaryu and the Yajamána touch it with the vessel intended for holding the liver *(vapás'rapaṇi)*. The former next sanctifies the animal by a mantra, and the Agnidhra places before the immolator the burning brand which is cast aside by the Adhvaryu, who orders the immolation with an appropriate mantra ending with the word *sanjnapaya* "immolate." The immolator now casts the victim on spread kús'a grass so as to have its head towards the west, and the feet pointing towards the north, and completes the slaughter, saying at the end "it is immolated" (sanjnapta). The institutor of the sacrifice and the priests should sit during the operation with their faces averted, so as not to behold the

sanguinary work, and the Adhvaryu should go on making expiatory offerings to obviate the evils likely to arise from the victim's lowing, or shivering, or attempting to run away, or dying by natural causes during the ceremony. A number of mantras, mostly from the Sañhitás of the Ṛig and the Yajur Vedas, are given for the various operations and offerings mentioned, as also for an interminable and unsufferably tedious series of offerings which are to follow the immolation ; but it would be foreign to the subject of this paper, to describe them here. I must, therefore, refer the curious to the MS. from which these details have been taken.

That the animal slaughtered was intended for food is evident from the directions given in the Ás′valáyana Sútra to eat of the remains of the offering ; but to remove all doubt on the subject I shall quote here a passage from the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa, in which the mode of cutting up the victim after immolation is described in detail; it is scarcely to be supposed that the animal, would be so divided if there was no necessity for distribution. The passage runs thus: "celestial and human executioners, (Samitára) commence your work; carry the victim for the purpose of cutting it up. Anxious to divide the victim for the masters of the ceremony, collect the *ulmuka* fire for the animal brought here (to the shambles). Spread the kús′a grass ; obtain the permission of the mother, of the father, of the uterine brother, of the friendly members, of the herd of the victim. Place it so that its feet may point towards the north; let the eyes reach the sun; let its vital airs attain the regent of the mind ; let the ears attain the regents of the quarters ; let its life reach the ether above ; let its body abide on the earth. Separate its hide so that it may remain entire (without rents). Before cutting open the navel separate the fat. Close its breath that it may remain within ; (*i. e.*, by tying up the mouth). Cut open its breast so as to make it appear like an eagle (with spread wings). Separate the fore-

arms; divide the arms into spokes; cut out the shoulders (clods) in the form of a tortoise; remove the hips (rumps) so as not to injure them; divide the thighs (rounds) with the bone entire in the shape of a door, or of the leaf of the oleander; separate successively in order the 26 ribs; divide the different members so that none be less than what it should be. Dig a trench for burying the excrements. Throw away the blood to the Rákshasas. Extract entire (and do not puncture in the middle) that part of the entrails which is like an owl in shape (the stomach, *vanishṭu*). Your offspring and their children will live in peace and never weep (*i. e.*, these operations being done according to the ordinances of the s'ástra, no injury will befall your family). O slayer of cattle, O Adhrigu, accomplish your task; acomplish it according to rules; O Adhrigu, accomplish it."*

The Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa is silent as to what should be done with these different parts, but the Gopatha Bráhmaṇa of the Atharva Veda supplies the omission. It gives in detail the names of the different individuals who are to receive shares of the meat for the parts they take in the ceremony. The total number of shares into which the car-

* "दैव्याः शमितार उत मनुष्या आरभध्वं। उपनयत मेध्या दुरः। आशासाना मेधपतिभ्यां मेधं। प्रास्मा अग्निं भरत। स्तृणीत बर्हिः। अन्वेनं माता मन्यतां। अनु पिता। अनु भ्राता सगर्भ्यः। अनु सखा सयूथ्यः। उदीचीनाऽस्य पदो निधत्तात्। सूर्यं चक्षुर्गमयतात्। वातं प्राणमन्ववसृजतात्। दिशः श्रोत्रं। अन्तरीक्षमसुं। पृथिवीऽ शरीरं। एकधास्य त्वचमाच्छ्यतात्। पुरा नाभ्या अपिशसो वपामुत्खिदतात्। अन्तरेवोष्माणं वारयतात्। श्येनमस्य वक्षः कृणुतात्। प्रशसा बाहू। शला दोषणी। कश्यपेवांऽसा। अच्छिद्रे श्रोणी। कवषोरू स्रेकपर्णाऽष्ठीवन्ता। षड्विंशतिरस्य वङ्क्रयः। ता अनुष्ठ्योच्च्यावयतात्। गात्रं गात्रमस्यानूनं कृणुतात्। ऊवध्यगोहं पार्थिवं खनतात्। अस्ना रक्षः सऽसृजतात्। वनिष्टुमस्य मा राविष्ट। उरूकं मन्यमानाः। नेद्वस्तोके तनये। रविता रवच्छमितारः। अध्रिगो शमीध्वं। सुशमि शमीध्वं। शमिध्वमध्रिगा" इति।

cass is to be divided is thirty-six, and the following persons are to receive one or more shares, each, *viz.* :—

"The Prastátá is to receive the two jaws along with the tongue; the Pratihartá, the neck and the hump; the Udgátá, the eagle-like wings or briskets; the Adhvaryu, the right side chine with the shoulder; the Upagátá, the left chine; the Pratiprasthátá, the left shoulder; the Brahmá and the wife of the Rathyá, the right rump; the Bráhmaṇáchchhañsi, the right hip lower down the round; the Potá, the thigh (leg?); the Hotá, the left rump; the Maitrávaruṇa, the left round; the Achchhávúka, the left leg; the Neshṭá, the right arm (clod); the Sadasya, the left clod; the master of the house the sirloin and some part of the abdomen (flank? *sada* and *anuka)*; his wife, the loin or pelvic region, which she is to bestow on a Bráhmaṇ; the Agnidhra, the stomach *(vanishṭu)*, the heart, the kidneys, and the right fore leg *(váhu)*; the Átreya, the left leg; the householder who ordains the sacrifice, the two right feet; the wife of the householder who ordains the sacrifice, the two left feet; and both of them in common, the upper lip; the Grávastut, three bones of the neck, (vertebra) and the *manirjá*, whatever that be; the man who leads the cow, three other vertebræ and a half of the perineum; the Chamasádhvaryu, the bladder; the Subráhmaṇya, the head; the man who invites people to a Soma sacrifice, the hide."* Diverse imprecations are hurled against those who

* अथातः सवनीयस्य पशोर्विभागं व्याख्यास्यामः। उद्धृत्यावदानानि, हनू सजिह्वे प्रस्तोतुः, कण्ठः सकाकुदः प्रतिहर्तुः, श्येनं वक्ष उद्गातुः, दक्षिणं पार्श्वं सांसमध्वर्योः, सव्यमुपगातॄणां सव्योऽंसः प्रतिप्रस्थातुः, दक्षिणा श्रोणिरथ्या स्त्री ब्रह्मणः, अवरसक्थं ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिनः, ऊरुः पोतुः, सव्या श्रोणिर्होतुः, अवरसक्थं मैत्रावरुणस्य, ऊरुरच्छावाकस्य, दक्षिणा दोर्नेष्टुः, सव्या सदस्यस्य, सदञ्चानूकञ्च गृहपतेः, जाघनी पत्न्याः, तां सा ब्राह्मणेन प्रतिग्राहयति, वनिष्ठुर्हृदयं वृक्कौ चाङ्गुल्यानि दक्षिणो बाहुराग्नीध्रस्य, सव्य आत्रेयस्य, दक्षिणौ पादौ गृहपतेर्व्रतप्रदस्य, सव्यौ पादौ गृहपत्न्या व्रतप्रदायाः, सहैवैनयोरोष्ठस्तं गृहपतिरेव प्रशास्ति,

venture to depart from this order of distribution. Directions similar to these occur also in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa.

The luckiest recipients were no doubt those who got the tongue, the hump, the rounds, and the sirloin ; but some of the inferior officers, such as those who got the feet, the bladder, and the like, could have made but poor use of their shares. They were, however, all allowed plentiful libations of the Soma beer to wash down their shares of meat.

The general rules to be followed in slaughtering animals including cattle, are given by some of the Sútrakáras. They are of course liable to be modified by special rules in connexion with special ceremonies, but in the absence of any such special rule, they should be regularly followed. Ás'valáyana gives these rules under the head of *Pas'ukalpa*, in the eleventh section of the first book of his Gṛiyha Sútra. According to them, after offering oblations of clarified butter to the sacrificial fire, a hearth is to be made to the north of it, for the *Sámitra* or cooking fire. This done, the animal to be slaughtered is to be made to drink plentifully, then bathed, and then made to stand before the sacrificial fire, facing the west. After this two oblations of clarified butter are to be offered with the mantra beginning with the words *Dútam*, &c. The animal should then be touched on the back with a green branch bearing leaves, while announcing the resolution, "for the gratification of so and so (naming the god), I slaughter thee." A little water in which paddy and barley have been steeped, is now to be sprinkled on the forepart of the animal,

मणिकाश्च स्कन्ध्याश्चित्तस्य कीकसा ग्रावस्तुतः, तिस्रश्चैव कीकसा अर्द्धञ्चापानस्योन्नेतुः, अत ऊर्द्धं चमसाध्वर्य्यूणां, क्लोमाः शमयितुः, शिरः सुब्रह्मण्यस्य, यस्य सुत्यामाह्वयते, तस्य चर्म्म, तथा खलु षट्त्रिंशत्सम्पद्यन्ते। षट्त्रिंशदवदाना गौः, षट्त्रिंशदक्षरा बृहती, बार्हता वै स्वर्गा लोकाः, बृहत्या वै देवाः स्वर्गं लोकं यजन्ते, बृहत्या स्वर्गे लोके प्रतितिष्ठति, प्रतितिष्ठति प्रजया पशुभिर्य एवं विभजन्ते।

and the aforesaid resolution again repeated. This done, the animal is to be made to drink a part of that water, and the remainder of it is to be thrown on its right fore leg. It is then to be led round the fire three times silently without any mantra, and then carried to the north side, with a burning faggot held before it. When brought to the spot where the cooking hearth has been made, the faggot is to be put into the hearth, and a good fire kindled in it. The master of the ceremony then is to take up two stout sticks of Kás'marya* wood, one with, and the other without, leaves, and successively touch the animal and the Adhvaryu. This done, he should spread some kús'a grass on the west of the hearth, and the animal, having been laid on it with its head towards the east or the west, and the feet pointing towards the north, is to be killed by the Samitá. The instrument of destruction is not named, and it is doubtful whether a knife was used, or a spike of hard wood, one of the gambhári sticks alluded to above, was driven into the region of the heart to effect the destruction. Both methods are noticed elsewhere, and the spike was called *sphya.* But however effected, immediately after the immolation, the master of the ceremony should cover the right hypochondriac region with a little kús'a grass, and make an oblique incision to extract an important organ from the abdomen. If the immolation be made with the animal's head to the east, it will be necessary to turn the carcass over to come to the spot. The organ to be extracted is called *Vapá*, and in Sanskrit dictionaries it is set down as a synonym of fat or marrow. Some take it to be the omentum, but the commentator of Ás'valáyana

* *Gmelina arborea.* The wood of this tree is reputed to be remarkably dense, hard and tough. The technical name of the stick is *Vapás'rapaṇí.* A s'rapaṇí is ordinarily a cooking pot, but in the present instance, as one of them should be अशाखा "without leaves" and the other सशाखा with leaves, I infer that sticks are meant.

describes its place to be a hollow above, and to the right of the navel,* which takes us exactly to the region of the liver, and knowing how eagerly such Hindus as take flesh-meat in the present day, like the liver of goats, as a delicacy, I am disposed to believe that the word means the liver. Such a titbit would be much more worthy of the gods than the skinny omentum, which is almost unfit for human food.

The liver being thus extracted, it should be cut, stuck on the two gambhárí sticks, washed, and then heated on the cooking fire. Proceeding then to the sacrificial fire, an offering is to be made to it with a bit of the liver. Sitting then on the south side of that fire, the meat is to be cooked, and butter be dropped on it while cooking. The roast being in this way completely dressed, it should be placed on the leaves of the plaksha tree *(Ficus infectoria)*, and further offerings made to the two fires. On this occasion rice is likewise cooked, and the carcass being then cut up into eleven principal parts, such as the heart, the tongue, the briskets, &c., besides other minor parts, they are all to be cooked at the

* शामित्रस्य पश्चिमे देशे बर्हिरुपस्तृणाति कर्त्ता। 'तं यत्र निहनिष्यन्तो भवन्ति तदध्वर्युर्बर्हिरधस्तादुपास्यति' इति श्रुतेः। ततस्तस्मिन् बर्हिषि प्राक्शिरसं प्रत्यक्शिरसं वोदक्पादं पशुं संज्ञपयति शमिता। उदक्पादमित्येव सिद्धे प्राक्शिरसं प्रत्यक्शिरसं वेति वचनम्, ऊर्द्ध्वशिरसः संज्ञपनं माभूदित्येवमर्थं। ततः कर्त्ता पुरा नाभेरर्वाङ् नाभेर्दक्षिणतो नाभेराशीनो वपास्थानं ज्ञात्वा तत्र तृणमन्तर्द्धाय तिर्य्यक् छित्वा वपामुत्खिदे-दुद्धरेत्। वपास्थानन्तु दक्षिणस्य पार्श्वस्य विविक्तप्रदेशः। यदि प्राक्शिराः संज्ञप्तः, तथा सति दक्षिणं पार्श्वमुत्तानं कृत्वा तृणान्तर्द्धानादि कुर्य्यात्। ततो वपामवदाय व्यवखण्ड्य। पुनर्वपाग्रहणं कृत्स्नावदानार्थं। तेनान्येष्ववदानेष्वकृत्स्नानि ग्रहणानि भवन्ति। ततो वपाश्रपणीभ्यां परिवेष्ट्याद्भिरभिषिच्य प्रक्षाल्य शामित्रे प्रताप्य, प्रतापनन्तु धर्म्ममात्रं श्रपणस्योत्तरत्र विधानात्। ततः शामित्रस्योत्तरतो गत्वाऽग्रेणैनमौपासनमग्निं वपां हुत्वाऽस्य दक्षिणत आसीनः श्रपयित्वा श्रपयिता तां वपामभिघार्य्य बर्हिषि प्लक्षशाखासु निधाय उभावप्यग्नी यथागतं परीत्य जुहुयात् [illegible] स्वाहेति।

sámitra fire. The heart is to be stuck on a spit and carefully roasted over the fire so as to make it tender, clarified butter being subsequently poured on it to complete the dressing.* On the completion of the operation, the different kinds of cooked meat and rice should be offered to the sacrificial fire with appropriate mantras, each ending with the word *sváháh.* If the meat and rice be offered separately, then separate *svishṭakṛit* or final offerings are to be made for each of them, otherwise one final-offering would suffice for all. The roast should be offered last without any mantra. The mantras enjoined are all extracts from the Sañhítá of the Ṛig Veda.

These rules, simple as they are, are, nevertheless, too complicated for a feast to be improvised whenever a respectable guest honours a house; and for such a purpose, therefore, a separate set of rules have been provided, in which the order of the guest to slaughter, given in a Rig Vedic verse, followed by another when immolating, is held sufficient. The ceremony is called *Madhuparka,* or the offering of "honied meal." The persons for whom this ceremony was imperative, were ṛitvigs, kings, bridegrooms, Vedic students on their return home after the completion of their studies, Ácháryas or tutors coming to a house after a year's absence, fathers-in-law, uncles, and generally all men of high rank.† The first duty of the householder, on the arrival of a guest belonging to any of these classes, was, after salutation, to offer a seat.

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* पशोर्य्यद्धृत्यां, यानि त्रेतायामेकादशावदानानि पशोः प्रसिद्धानि, तानि यथा स्युरित्येवमर्थं। हृदयं जिह्वा वक्ष इत्येवमादीनि। सर्व्वाङ्गपक्षे-त्वामेकादशभ्योऽन्यान्यपि यान्यङ्गानि दृष्टानि तेषामपि विकल्पेन पक्षणार्थं। एवमवदाय तानि शामित्रः श्रपयति। हृदयं शूले प्रोत्य प्रतापयति यथा शृतं भवति। ततः शृतान्यभिघार्य्योद्वास्य ततः स्थालीपाकस्यैकदेशं पूर्व्वं जुहुयात्, ततोऽवदानानि ॥ १२ ॥

† ऋत्विगाचार्य्य-श्वशुर-पितृव्य-मातुलादीनामुपस्थाने मधुपर्कः, संवत्सरे पुनर्यज्ञविवाहयोरर्व्वाग राज्ञः श्रोत्रियस्य च ॥ १२० ॥ Gautama *apu* Kulluka Bhaṭṭa; Manu, III, 120.

This was ordinarily a mat made of kús'a* grass, and in the case of ṛitvigs or officiating priests, it was the most appropriate ; but the word used for it by Ás'valáyana is *vishṭara*, which means bedding, or an article to sit upon, and it may have been a carpet, a stool, a chair, or a couch. Wooden seats are particularly mentioned in different works.

After the guest was seated, the most appropriate article for refreshing him, in a warm country like India, was water to wash his feet with. This was called *pádya* ; and the rule on the subject required that a Bráhmaṇa guest should have his right foot washed first, and then the left, the order being reversed in the case of S'údras; the Kshatríyas and Vaisyas being left to follow their own inclination in the matter. The washing was repeated three times. The next offering was the *arghya*, which consisted of a little water with scents and flower garlands,† and was no doubt much more appropriate than what is offered to gods in the present day, which consists of sandal wood paste and a few grains of rice thrown on a flower and sprinkled over with water. The mantra for the offering was repeated three times. A glass of water for washing the face next followed, and the guest was expected to drink of it as much as he liked. The *Madhuparka* strictly so called was next brought forward. It consisted of curds and honey held in a small cup, butter being substituted when honey was not at hand. When bringing it, the host was required to look at it, and repeat a mantra three times. The guest received the cup while repeating a mantra, then looked at it while repeating another, and mixing the ingredients in the cup with his index finger or the thumb or the little finger with a third, and cleared his finger by giving it a jerk while repeating a fourth mantra. He was required then to repeat

* कूर्च्चैर्दर्भैर्विनिर्म्मितं।

† गन्धमाल्यादिसंयुक्तमुदकमुच्यते। Garganáráyaṇa's Vṛitti on A's'valáyana, 105.

three mantras successively, throwing a little of the mixture after each repetition upwards into the air with the tip of his finger, offering it to Rudra, Áditya, and Vis'vedeváh. Then placing the cup on the ground, he tasted the mixture three times, repeating a mantra on each occasion. According to some, he had to eat the whole of the mixture in three mouths-ful, but according to others, a portion was left behind to be given to a Bráhmaṇ, or should such a person to receive it happen not to be at hand, to be thrown into water.* A drink of water after this honeyed meal was of course a necessity, which was met in the same way as the first drink before the meal, the mantra for it being the same; but a second drink followed with a different mantra. The order to give the remains of a tasted food to a Bráhmaṇ is worthy of note. It would be the direst insult to a Bráhmaṇ in the present day to ask him to receive such an offering.

A cow was next brought forward and offered to the guest; whereupon he said, "My sin is destroyed, destroyed is my sin," and then ordered the immolation of the animal with the words *Om kuru*, "accomplish, Amen."† The host thereupon immolated the cow in the name of some appropriate divinity. If it were desired that the cow should be sanctified and let loose, then the guest repeated the mantra: "This cow is the mother of the Rudras, and the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Ádityas, and the pivot of our happiness; therefore I solemnly say unto all wise men, kill not this harmless sacred cow. Let her drink water and eat

* ब्राह्मणाय उच्छिष्टं उद्धृताद्वांशिष्टं उदङ्मुखो मधुपर्कं प्रयच्छेत्, ब्राह्मणालाभे अप्सु निषिञ्चेत् ॥ १६ ॥

† आचान्तोदकाय गां वेदयन्ते ॥ २३ ॥

हतो मे पाप्मा पाप्मा मे हत इति जपित्वा ओङ्कुरुतेति कारयिष्यन् ॥ २४ ॥

इमं मन्त्रं जपित्वा ओंकुरुतेति ब्रूयात्। यदि कारयिष्यन् मारयिष्यन् भवति तदा च दाता आलभेत। तत्र देवताः प्रागुक्ताः ॥ २४ ॥

grass."* He then ordered it to be let loose, and the same was accordingly done. Lest this should lead to the idea that the feast at this ceremony may be celebrated without flesh-meat, Ás'valáyana emphatically ordains that no *Madhuparka* should be celebrated without flesh-meat,† and his commentator Garganáráyaṇa provides for this by saying that "when the animal is sacrificed, its meat supplies the requirement of the feast; should it be let loose, flesh-meat should be provided by other means, but on no account should the feast be without that article."‡

In this he has followed the ordinance of Manu, who declares that the man who, having in due form performed a (Madhuparka or other) ceremony, fails to eat flesh-meat, will be doomed to be born an animal for twenty-one generations;§ and that Brahmá having created animals for sacrifices, their immolation at a Vedic ceremonial cannot be injurious, and that animals, beasts, trees, tortoises, and birds, destroyed in the performance of sacred rites, rise after death in the scale of creation.‖

Convenient as the ceremony of Madhuparka was for the celebration of a feast, it was not calculated to afford a ready and cheap supply of meat to persons given to its use, and accordingly Manu ordained (ante. p. 361,) that flesh-meat

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* माता रुद्राणां दुहिता वसूनां स्वसाऽऽदित्यानाममृतस्य नाभिः। प्र नु वोचं चिकितुषे जनाय मा गामनागामदितिं वधिष्ट। पिबतूदकं तृणान्यत्तु। ओमुत्सृजत।

This mantra occurs in the ceremony of letting loose the cow which used to be led before a corpse to the burning ground at a funeral. Vide 'Article on the Funeral Ceremony of the Hindus,' further on.

† नामांसो मधुपर्को भवति भवति ॥ २६ ॥

‡ मधुपर्काङ्गभोजनममांसं न भवतीत्यर्थः। कुतः मांसस्य भोजनाङ्गत्वेन लोके प्रसिद्धत्वात्। अनेनाभ्युपायेन भोजनमत्र विहितं भवति। पशुकरणपक्षे तन्मांसेन भोजनं, उत्सर्जनपक्षे मांसान्तरेण। A's'valáyana I, 24-26.

§ Manu V. 35. ‖ Ibid V. 394.

purchased at a butcher's stall was pure, and fit for consumption by pious Hindus. I have nowhere noticed that butchers were required, as among the Muhammadans, to observe any ceremonial rite before slaughtering animals, and am disposed to believe that none was observed, and that the only restriction was that the person purchasing meat for food had to offer a portion of it, after dressing it, to the gods, manes, guests, or beggars, which sufficed to accomplish a *yajna*.

It is worthy of note here, that while killing of Bráhmaṇs, drinking of spirituous liquors by Bráhmaṇs, stealing of gold belonging to Bráhmaṇs, defilement of the bed of spiritual preceptors, and association for a year with those who are guilty of the aforesaid four crimes, are reckoned by Yájṇavalkya among the most heinous crimes—*Mahápátaka*, the mischievous killing of cattle is included among secondary or *upapátaka* offences, and the expiation for it is comparatively slight. A Bráhmaṇ guilty of drinking spirits cannot expiate his crime without suicide produced by a draft of molten metal, while a cow-killer is let off by Samvarta with a fortnight's short-commons, consisting of barley-meal, milk, curds and butter, a feast to Bráhmaṇs, and the gift of a cow.* Yájṇavalkya is a little more exacting; he insists upon drinking of the five products of the cow, *paṇchagavya*, following a cow as it roams about, sleeping in a cattle-shed regularly for a whole month, and ending with the gift of a cow, or a fine equal to the value of the animal destroyed.† He also recommends other forms of expiation, and his rival Smṛitikáras have each his own scheme; but none insists upon any thing approaching suicide.

* सक्तुयावकभैक्ष्याशी पयोदधिघृतं शकृत् ।
एतानि क्रमशोऽश्नीयान्मासार्द्धं सुसमाहितः ।
ब्राह्मणान् भोजयित्वा तु गां दद्यादात्मशुद्धये ॥ संवर्त्तः ।
पञ्चगव्यं पिबन् गोघ्नो मासमासीत संयतः ।
गोष्ठेशयो गोऽनुगामी गोप्रदानेन शुध्यति ॥ याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

The author of the *Nárasiñhíya Prayoga-párijáta* has copied verbatim As'valáyana's rule about the necessity of eating beef at the Madhuparka ceremony, but qualified it by a quotation from the Áditya Puráṇa which says that in the present Kali age the Madhuparka should be celebrated without slaughtering a cow. This quotation has been given at length by Parásara*, Hemádri and other compilers, and runs as follows:—" Protracted Brahmacharya, carrying of the begging pot called Kamaṇḍalu, production of issue by a brother-in-law, gift of a daughter once already given away (widow marriage), marriage with girls of other than one's own caste by the twice-born classes, killing of noble Bráhmaṇs (versed in the Vedas) in fair warfare even if they come to the attack, entrance into the Vánaprastha state according to law, reduction of the period of mourning on account of duty, or service, or for reading the Vedas; expiations on the part of Bráhmaṇs involving loss of life; condemnation for association with criminals; immolation of animals at the Madhuparka; acceptance as sons, of other than legitimate and adopted sons; boarding together on the part of the twice-born householders with a servant, cowherd, friend of the family, and persons with whom agriculture is jointly carried on if they be S'udras by caste; pilgrimage to very remote places; cooking of food by S'udras for Bráhmaṇs; expiatory suicide by falling from very high places, or into the fire; suicide on account of extreme old age, and the like have been abstained from by noble and learned men at the beginning of the Kali Yuga for the well-being of mankind. The practice of revered persons is proof as potent as that of the Vedas."†

* I suppose this is a compiler and not the author of the Sañhitá, for the latter does not quote authorities in support of his rules and ordinances.

† हेमाद्रिपराशरयोरादित्यपुराणम् ।
दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्य्यं धारणञ्च कमण्डलोः ।
देवरेण सुतोत्पत्तिर्दत्तकन्या प्रदीयते ॥

The Vrihannáradíya Puráṇa follows the above very closely, but at the same time it omits some acts and prohibits others which are not condemned by the former. The additional acts condemned are, suicide by getting one's self drowned in the sea, offering of flesh meat at S'ráddhas, human sacrifice, horse sacrifice, Gomedha sacrifice, and Vedic yajnas involving sacrifices of cattle.* It is worthy of note, however, that this prohibition in the Áditya Puráṇa is not positive and explicit, but implied : " Because certain noble and wise men did not do so, and the practice of pious men is proof as potent as that of the Vedas," ergo they should not be done, the author

कन्यानामसवर्णानां विवाहश्च द्विजातिभिः ।
आततायिद्विजाग्र्याणां धर्म्मयुद्धेन हिंसनं ।
वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्यापि प्रवेशो विधिचोदितः ॥
वृत्तस्वाध्यायसापेक्षमघसङ्कोचनं तथा ।
प्रायश्चित्तविधानञ्च विप्राणां मरणान्तिकं ॥
संसर्गदोषः पापेषु मधुपर्के पशोर्बधः ।
दत्तौरसेतरेषान्तु पुत्त्रत्वेन परिग्रहः ॥
शूद्रेषु दासगोपालकुलमित्रार्द्धसीरिणां ।
भोज्यान्नता गृहस्थस्य तीर्थसेवातिदूरतः ॥
ब्राह्मणादिषु शूद्रस्य पक्कतादिक्रियापि च ।
भृग्वग्निपतनञ्चैव वृद्धादिमरणन्तथा ॥

इत्यादीनभिधाय ।

एतानि लोकगुप्त्यर्थं कलेरादौ महात्मभिः ।
निवर्त्तितानि कर्म्माणि व्यवस्थापूर्व्वकं बुधैः ।
समयश्चापि साधूनां प्रमाणं वेदवद्भवेत् ॥

वृहन्नारदीये । समुद्रयात्रास्वीकारः कमण्डलुविधारणम् ।

द्विजानामसवर्णासु कन्यासूपयमस्तथा ॥
देवरेण सुतोत्पत्तिर्मधुपर्के पशोर्बधः ।
मांसादनं तथा श्राद्धे वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्तथा ॥
दत्तायाश्चैव कन्यायाः पुनर्दानं वरस्य च ।
दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्य्यं नरमेधाश्वमेधकौ ॥
महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोमेधं च तथा मखं ।
इमान् धर्म्मान् कलियुगे वर्ज्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ।

wished to say, but did not do so in so many words. Both these extracts proceed from Upapuráṇas of probably not more than eleven or twelve hundred years of age. According to Professor Wilson, the Upapuráṇas are not older than the twelfth century, but seeing that the Vrihannáradíya has been quoted as an authority by Vallála Sena in his Dána-s'ágara, and he lived in the eleventh century, it must be at least four or five centuries older ; but they have been so carelessly preserved, and are so full of interpolations, and altogether are of such questionable authenticity, that even the most orthodox Hindu holds them to be of very secondary rank compared to the Vedas, the Smṛitis and the Sútras. Thus it is said in the *Prayoga-párijáta* that where the S'ruti and the Smṛiti disagree, the S'ruti should prevail. Again the Smṛitis are more venerable than the Puráṇas, and of the Smṛitis Manu is the most authoritative.*

In the opinion of Paulastya, who is himself an original Smṛitikára, Manu must yield to the Kalpa Sútras, which, being derived immediately from the Vedas, are of greater authority than the Smṛitis.† This has not been contradicted by any lawgiver or commentator. The Upapuráṇas hold a lower rank than the Puráṇas, and have nowhere been allowed to override the latter, much less the S'ruti and the Smṛiti ; the order of precedence being, according to the above, 1st S'ruti or Veda, 2nd Sútra, 3rd Smṛiti, 4th Puráṇas, 5th Upapuráṇa. It is not a little remarkable, therefore, the last should be allowed in the present instance to prevail over the first four. The author of the *Nírṇaya-sindhu* assumes even a lower

* श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणानां विरोधो यत्र विद्यते ।
तत्र श्रौतं प्रमाणन्तु तयोर्द्वैधे स्मृतिर्वरा ॥
वेदार्थोपनिबन्धृत्वात् प्राधान्यं हि मनोः स्मृतम् ।
मन्वर्थविपरीता या सा स्मृतिरप्रशस्यते ॥

† कल्पसूत्रस्मृत्योर्विरोधे प्रत्यक्षश्रुतिमूलत्वेन कल्पसूत्रं प्रबलमित्याहु हेमाद्रौ संग्रहे पौलस्त्याः ।

ground. He begins by quoting an unnamed authority which says, "Works which lead not to paradise, and are condemned by public opinion, should not be performed;" and then argues, "Thus, the slaughter of large bulls and large sheep for Bráhmaṇas versed in the Vedas, though duly ordained, should not be done, being detested by the public. Further, the rule, let a cow fit for offering to Mitra and Varuṇa, or a barren cow, or one that has ceased to bear after first calving, be sacrificed, is duly ordained; still such sacrifice being opposed to public feeling, should not be performed."* If such be the case, the question arises, whence comes this public feeling against the ordinances of the Vedas? And we can nowhere meet with a more appropriate reply than in the fact that when the Bráhmaṇs had to contend against Buddhism, which emphatically and so successfully denounced all sacrifices, they found the doctrine of respect for animal life too strong and too popular to be overcome, and therefore gradually and imperceptibly adopted it in such a manner as to make it appear a part of their S'ástra. They gave prominence to such passages as preached benevolence and mercy for all animated creation, and so removed to the background the sacrificial ordinances as to put them entirely out of sight. Such a process is even now going on in Hinduism

* अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्ममप्याचरेन्नत्विति निषेधात्। यथा, महोक्षं वा महाजं वा श्रोत्रियाय प्रकल्पयेदिति विधानेऽपि लोकविद्विष्टत्वादननुष्ठानं। यथा वा मैत्रावरुणीं गां वशामनुबन्ध्यामालभेत इति गवालम्भनविधानेऽपि लोकविद्विष्टत्वादननुष्ठानं।

निर्णयसिन्धुः।

यदाह बृहस्पतिः। उक्तो नियोगो मनुना निषिद्धः स्वयमेव तु।
युगह्रासादशक्योऽयं कर्त्तुमन्यैर्विधानतः॥
तपो ज्ञानसमायुक्ताः कृते त्रेतायुगे जनाः।
द्वापरे च कलौ नृणां शक्तिहानिर्हि निर्म्मिता॥
अनेकधा कृताः पुत्रा ऋषिभिर्यैः पुरातनैः।
न शक्यतेऽधुना कर्त्तुं शक्तिहीनैरिदं जनैः॥

under the influence of Christianity, and, as the Hindu mind was during the ascendancy of Buddhism already well prepared for a change by the teachings of the Buddhist missionaries, no difficulty was met with in making faith, devotion, and love supply the place of the holocausts and unlimited meat offerings ordained by the Vedas. The abstention was at first, no doubt, optional, but gradually it became general, partly from a natural disposition to benevolence, and partly out of respect for the feeling of Buddhist neighbours, such as the Muhammadans now evince for their Hindu fellow-subjects by abstaining from beef in different parts of Bengal, that writers found it easy to appeal to the practice of the people and public feeling as proofs even as potent as the Vedas, and authoritatively to declare that sacrifices were forbidden in the present age. This once done, the change was complete. In short, the Buddhist appeal to humanity proved too much for the Smriti, and custom has now given a rigidity to the horror against the sacrifice of animal life which even the Vedas fail to overcome.